THE

INDIAN COMMUNISTS

238

By

C. Rajagopalachari

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PREFACE

This booklet '*The Indian Communists*' is a collection of Sri C. Rajagopalachari's speeches, both in the Madars Legislature and on the public platform while he was the Chief Minister of Madras State in 1952-54. He is one of the very few Congressmen who have perfectly understood the *real* nature of the Indian Communist Party and gave the Communists a piece of his mind.

We are grateful to Shri Rajaji for granting us the necessary permission to bring out this booklet.

We are thankful to friends who have helped us to prepare this collection.

Madras-2
1—2—55

—*The Publishers*

CONTENTS

		Page
1.	Communist technique	5
2.	Faith in God	8
3.	Crime and punishment	12
4.	Vested interest in grievances	14
5.	The formula	17
6.	Their strength	20
7.	Prohibition	22
8.	Expenditure on special police ...	23
9.	Giddy with success	24
10.	Dangers of over-centralisation ...	25
11.	Communist justice	26
12.	Property an illusion	27
13.	Welfare State	27
14.	Work is worship	28
15.	The old habit	29
16.	Production and freedom	30
17.	Progress or liquidation	31
18.	Guided in policy from abroad ...	32
19.	Danger from within	34
20.	In Malabar	35
21.	Why masks ?	36
22.	Communist Party on the decline ...	36
23.	My doubts about reds	38
24.	Vote for the Congress	40
25.	Appeal to Andhras	41

COMMUNIST TECHNIQUE

I am here, as Chief Minister, Madras to save my country from the traps and the dangers of the Communist Party. That is my policy from A to Z. I consider the Communist Party a great and dangerous trap, a trap not only because of the inherent qualities and policies of the Communist Party but also because of the condition of our country.

I admit that there is great poverty in our country. I admit that there is a large amount of good Government that is yet to come for the benefit of our country. I admit also that our people are uneducated. I do not bother about illiteracy. The illiterate man is often more educated than the very literate man. There is a large amount of ignorance in our country. I consider the Communist Party therefore is a great danger to India, greater danger than to any other country. I want my people to understand it so that my policy (as Chief Minister) may be well understood. I place my cards on the table. I tell the Communist Party, "You have to take me as your enemy No. 1."

"May I say you are my enemy No. 1. This is my policy—from A to Z apply it to every one of the measures and you, the communist, will understand the unity and integrity underlying my present statements."

What is the policy of the Communists Party? Every difficulty in the country, every discontent in the country, every complaint in the country must be taken up, interpreted in the language of opposition to the *status quo* and to the Government, expanded, exaggerated, repeated, added to and rolled on and

made to grow like a snow ball so that the Government may get a bad name. On the one hand they want industrialisation, on the other hand they want cottage industries. They complain of poor men being deprived of their lands in one place and in another place they say that lands must be taken from them and nationalized. Every kind of contradictory satisfaction to every kind of discontented men. This is the technique of communism in India.

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It is only when one sympathises one understands. If I sympathise with communism I can understand it better than that. But I do not sympathise with it. I say it openly.

* * * *

Let me now come to their main policy to which I object. I say, do not lay traps for the poor people. That is any appeal to the Communist Party. By all means work for socialism in your own way. By all means put before the country your policy. But do not place traps to capture parliamentary backing for your policy. Do not tell stories. Do not exagg^rate. Do not go and work up discontent and then trap people. That is my appeal.

Everybody knows that self-interest and selfishness constitutes the biggest urge outside the family that moves man. But humanity cannot live on that. Humanity has found from time immemorial that social co-operation must be also added on to this urge of selfishness. Otherwise, no happiness is possible and

no life is possible. Now social co-operation and mutual co-operation are contrary to the spirit of selfishness, and how then are we to bring these together? The communists believe that compulsory dictatorship will bring about that social co-operation. I speak as I understand the communist policy. Every word I say is what I believe and that is my great claim. The policy of the Communist Party is that the social co-operation that is necessary to be practised so as to work against the urge of material and selfish interests of individuals, can be attained and has to be attained through a dictatorship, whereas we believe in democracy—although the word 'democracy' is the property of every body now and we will have to find some other word on account of the misuse of this word by the communists—and that this social co-operation can be brought about by the democratic method of discussion, debate, agreement and consultation, the parliamentary method without any violence and without any liquidation of particular classes. The word 'liquidate' meant something very innocent in the old days. But now, after the communists began using the word, it has come to mean murder and nothing else. Without liquidation of particular individuals or classes, to secure social co-operation for the maintenance of the life of the society, we believe in the democratic method.

The communists believe in the method of producing a dictatorship if possible without violence, but if necessary through violence. I would challenge anybody to say, 'No' to what I have said and I shall

welcome it. In fact, in a different capacity I have been asking for a denial. I have been trying for it and I could not get it. That is why I say with some degree of emphasis that this is the policy of the Communist Party. I have dwelt on this because it is after all the fundamental of our situation.

I do not want compulsion and I do not want violence whether it is necessary or unnecessary. I want social co-operation not at the cost of bloodshed, not at the cost of injustice, but as a result of Democratic Parliamentary work. If that could be achieved, we can all co-operate and there is no difficulty. The programme of exploitation of every grievance in the world brought together in speeches and in writings and in pictures and photographs, cannot be promoted without the Government defending the people against it. That is what the communists are trying to promote. That is why I say my policy is to oppose the Comunist Party.

FAITH IN GOD

Then comes the question of rain. Slyly and ironically, a few Members made references to my belief in prayer for rain. I have no hesitation in repeating my faith in it. Does any body believe, I ask, that we can get on without rain? Can we get on without rain with the help of machinery or apparatus, petrol or gas engine or admidistrative arrangements? Impossible! Rain is absolutely essential and how can it come? Can any body

discover how it can be brought about? One hon. Member said, 'What is the good of praying? We must do things necessary for producing rain.' What is the thing necessary for producing rain? ...... I know more science than any of the people I see on the opposite side. I do not know that there is any mechanism invented by anybody to produce rain. We may read something interesting about it especially in the magazine issuses of ordinary newspapers, but the real scientist will tell you that we cannot produce rain in any useful degree. We can, of course, produce rain in a kettle in a laboratory. But, to produce rain for meeting famine and for irriggation projects, no mechanical process has yet been found either by Governments or by other scientific bodies. Another hon. Member said that it was the sins committed by the Congress that stopped the rain. Very probably, I admit. But, I do not know entirely the mind of Providence. It may be due to the sins committed by the other side. There are many miseries and misfortunes which lead to knowledge, wisdom and better life later on. Well, I do not wish to probe into the inscrutable mind of Providence. But, as long as we are human beings, we must continue to have faith in God. If anybody has no faith, I cannot quarrel with him. But, no irony, no sarcasm or ridicule, no cocksureness of upstartist knowledge can shake me from my faith in God. I am entitled to place my faith in God and I am entitled to pray. If my young friends (the Communists) have not learnt it, they will learn it by and by. (1)

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I have been going about preaching the necessity for belief in God and I am told that I have no right to do it, having accepted office under Government, as Chief Minister, Madras State. ...... When a person hears a thing, he hears what is in his own mind, he hears his own prejudices. When a person reads something, he reads what is in his own mind and what is his own prejudice. There is no time, in the present world of great hurry and of suffocating leaflets and literature of that kind, for people to listen clearly. What I claim and what everyone is told from time immemorial is that eveyone has a God in his heart ......I was appealing to what other Members might refer to as conscience. I was appealing to what Socrates referred to as the deity in one's own heart. That is a time-honoured appeal and I was not claiming that the votes of the people should be given as from God himself. God has a way of his own and we need not appeal to Him in the matter of votes, but I appeal to the men and women who are here to vote according to the dictates of their free judgement and according to what their conscience tells them to do and not anything else.

Let me tell my Friends here that God is truth, that it is a fact that every one of us is but a tool in His hands and that every little act of ours is His act. Both the votes on this side and on that side are but His activities, and He has His own inscrutable ways. Because one dislikes the reference to God and because one dislikes the reference to religion, one does not hear properly the things that are said about God. I cannot

read a book or understand a book aright unless, as I leave my shoes behind before going into a temple, I put aside my prejudices and read the book with respect and sympathy and affection. If we wish to understand one another, we must be humble and we must put aside prejudices. That is the secret of the matter. So many friends who are young and growing, who have got the urge of life in them and the urge of ignoring every thing else, do not know the meaning of the laws of Nature. I maintain that god must be kept in our mind. If anybody does not wish to do that I cannot interfere with him; I can only plead.

Here are a number of people who have been going about for some decades past, preaching that we need not recognize the existence of God, whether he is there or not is no concern of ours and that we had better carry on our work without reference to Him. It is a very reasonable proposition but it it is not a good proposition, not good for the world and not good for the country. We must work with love and fear of God every moment. It is not enough to ignore it and to work as if nothing existed but yourself and your surroundings. There must be a law from within.

Many people here charged me and found fault with me for attributing to them want of faith in God. I wish I were wrong. I wish that they were right that I had made a mistake at least in a large number of cases. I do wish to be contradicted by a larger and larger number of people by saying, 'No, we are believers in God as much as you. We do not talk

about it, but we are pious, we are humble and we are good as you.' I wish every one would tell me that. But I am sorry I have to say that these denials do not have the ring of truth in them. These denials of the charge have a jeer in the heart because there is a flippancy about it. It does not ring true just like a false coin.......Let some people preach No-Godism. The two together will keep the God alive in the hearts of men. I want that continuous work and that is the meaning of the old story of the man, who was anti-Narayana and who kept a bell attached to his ear so that he might not hear the name of Narayana uttered by anybody. Even he is supposed to have been saved because he continually thought about Narayana while all the time the tendency was not to hear the mention of the name of Narayana. So, there is no flinching on my part.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

If a group of people start a riot in a village, or commit a murder, or burn a few houses or pull out the eyes of sombody, the policemen learn the information later and go to the scene. The criminal chooses the time, place, hour and circumstances. But the police could know it only later and they proceed to the place. Afterwards complaints are started of oppression and terrorism in order to discover what had happened. That was the story probably in many cases. But in all these cases, the primary thing is forgotten. For instance,

a man might have been killed or a child wearing a few rupees worth of jewellery might have been persuaded to go with a person as if with a friend and killed. Considerable time elapses before the youngman is charged with the crime and sentenced. It might take six months or one year to bring the person to trial and prove his crime, and if proved, he might be punished. But pity flows like a stream for the young man who is sentenced. What about the little boy who was killed? They talk of police terrorism and all that. They forget the tragedy of the child and the feelings of the parents who lost the child. When the police receive complaints as to certain crimes committed, they go to the scene of occurrence to find out the criminal and thus help the people. Charges are made about the action of the police but the crimes committed earlier by certain groups of people are forgotten. Human memory becomes slipshod.

I have examined cases of crime committed by a party that calls itself now as a party standing for World Peace and as having certain minimum programmes. I have seen the papers in the cases tried in Courts and their results. Therefore, the charge of the opposition is rather misleading. Apart from that, no policeman or group of policemen enter a village or any other place except to raid a centre engaged in some illicit liquor programme or to raid some other crime centre.

* * * *

VESTED INTEREST IN GRIEVANCES

The Communists are the champions of every grievance in the country. Of all the vested interests, the worst form of vested interest is the vested interest in the misery or the grievances of the people. Of all the forms of vested interests which we all combine to oppose, the worst form is the vested interest in grievances. I am afraid that that vested interest is now growing apace. We should strive to remove those grievances. We should not strive to thrive on grievances.

I know how the Communists are humble in the beginning, how they are smooth and oily and get into every group and try to get first the G. C. M. as I would call it and then by multiplying it by a convenient figure get the L. C. M.

The Communists first find out the Greatest Common Measure of everybody who have grievances and take possession of the G. C M. and then multiply it by a factor which I call exaggeration and the exaggerated G. C. M. becomes the L. C. M., the Least Common Multiple. This is the arithmetical formula of the Communists. I have not discovered it here. It has been discovered during the last few decades to be the process by which Communists are operating in Eastern Europe.

The formula has not been discovered by the Communist Party here. It is the result of long research in human psychology. They know how to work on

human psychology. The thing is there. If you take ginger, jaggery, and pepper, grind them up and put the mixture in your stomach, it produces an irritation which finally increases digestion. In the same way they know the way to put the grievances together, find out the greatest common measure and then multiply it and make it a common policy for everybody. Then the day comes when, just as the small fish are eaten by the big fish and the big fish alone remains, the Communist is the only party there and then comes a police raj worse than any police raj that my Friend Mr. Nagi Reddy has discovered. I know the history of the people who came under the Communist Party. People who left the Communist Party have written and published their experiences. I have spoken to them. I have heard them. My dear Friends do not know that I am quite intimate with friends from China and Russia. Communism works through this G. C. M. method, it gets hold of the people and the industries, and then everything is changed. Let me warn the country and the people as to what will happen in any country where Communists are to rule. After all, the fruit is the test of the tree. Take all the countries in the world. Take the countries where the Communists got hold of the Government. See whether it is the same as three or four policemen standing guard in my house or whether there is not a policeman in every family. In the Communist countries there is a policeman in every house, not in uniform—but they are more loyal to the State than any policeman in uniform.

Every citizen is a policeman. In two generations all opposition is wiped out and liquidated. Every child is brought up under the doctrine of a police state and everybody is put on the watch, put under control and regulated. It was said that we controlled and de'controlled food. But if the Communists come to rule, what will happen is that the Communists will control not only food, but thought, word and action.

The real process of power getting into the head is in the process the Communists believe most. They have a power which is not exhibited. They have got their stranglehold on the essential services and production in the country. They feel that power and they need not be in uniform. They have exercised that power and that power has gone to their heads. I warn them, it is bad. I warn them, power is bad, in whatever form, if it intoxicates you. I wish I had a Prohibition Act against that kind of intoxication. It is not the Congress which for a time has been enjoying uniformed soldiers' loyalty that is drunk with power. It is the people who have a hold on the production of the country and who have a clientele who are ignorant, who can be easily misguided and operated upon in their plan of exploiting their greed by false promises, allegations and things like that. Power built upon that basis is dangerous. By all means let us organize labour and remove their grievances. Let us go round lecturing, let us protest, let us argue in courts and secretariats and get things righted. But do not pile up grievances for exploitation and try to build a superstructure of power on that basis. That is wicked.

I must say, if that is the object of the Communists, it should not be done. You should work to remove grievances and to maintain industrial activity. But you must drop the desire to build power on the grievances.

THE FORMULA

It is the Communist habit in all countries to shout, 'There should be no taxes.' Their continuous policy is to demand every privilege arising from the concept of democracy in order to forward their own determined plan which finally includes a denial of similar privilages to those who oppose their authority when they should come to be established in power. That is their clear *formula*. They raise points of order now. When they are in power. no one can raise points of order. Survey the countries from China to Peru. You will see, whether points of order are allowed, whether privileges are allowed, whether freedom of speech is allowed in countries governed by Communists. They claim all the privilege of democracy so long as we are in power, but when they get into power democracy ends and all privileges end. It will not only be so in India, it is the case everywhere.

I am a very ignorant man. I am an old fashioned man. But I know something about the Communists, the Communist theory, the Communist policy. They believe that class conflict is necessary and inherent in the present day civilization. ......It is inherent in the present

civilization and now that must be ended—the inherent class conflict—by the transfer of the means of production to national ownership and that is to be attained by force and revolution.

I want you, dear reader, to follow this analysis of mine. It is to be attained by force and revolution and not otherwise. It is not possible otherwise. Subsequent to that necessary solution there has to be an unlimited period of dictatorship based on open terror. This is the programme of the Communists. The Socialists do not like that. They think they can attain the same end by different methods.

The Communist Party has been operating in all satellite countries according to a certain policy. It is this: "Completely conceal your own policy; do not talk about it or make any public exposition of it during the present period; keep the Communist Party intact and strong and do all that is necessary for it in your own secret conclaves; do not use the labour platform or any political platform; work on the G. C. M. principle."

I am quoting from my heart. I have noted it down after careful thinking, so that I may not commit any mistake and I am reading it. It is not usual for me to quote. The policy is, 'Take hold of every grievance and form united front.' The Communists are the champions of landless labourers; they are the champions of small peasant proprietors. Everybody knows the history of the peasant proprietorship in Russia and how it was changed subsequently. The landless labourers must look to the Communists as their champions; the small

peasant proprietors must look to them as their champions; bus-owners must look to them as their champions; passengers must look to teem as their chapions; even the N. G. Os. must look to them as their champions. Everybody, middle class and upper middle class and even the small capitalist who is allotted the high place in the list is to be championed by them. This only exemplifies what I have said, 'Take everybody's grievance and make it your own policy.'

The other parties who join the Communists and form U. D. Fs. claim, very rightly and genuinely, that they have the right to be independent and that they will not be contaminated. But psychology cannot be ignored. Their psychology is being unconsciously underumined. We know the history of Communist alliances in other countries and the same will follow here. The wonderful catalogue of claims made by the Communists and other Opposition leaders here is enough to condemn it. The Communists are to-day the champions of language autonomy and linguistic provinces. I remember a time when they were vigorously arguing against linguistic provinces as parochialism. To-day they are champions of linguistic provinces. They are champions of the handloom industry. They are champions of the miil industry; they are champions of mill workers.

The championship of handloom industy is in direct conflict with their ideology about the mills and mill workers, their bonus and emoluments. There is a permanent and inherent conflict in the Communist jargon between the handloom industry and the mills.

They talk of N. G. Os. There was a time when anyone who was working in an office and who was getting a salary without doing anything by hand, was anathema and was a parasite. Now they are champions of poor N. G. Os. It was easy to delude people in distress.

They are again champions of economy in administration; they are champions of retrenchment; at the same time they are champions of the retrenched men also. They want economy; they do not want retrenchment.........The Communist Party knows the trick of making compartments for all these. There is an anti-God society; there is an anti-marriage society; there is a collectivized cultivation society. I do not claim to know exactly the Russian words for them. They give all autonomy except freedom in economic policy.

THEIR STRENGTH

When I tell unpleasant truths, I have found that as I speak truthfully and with affection for the people to whom I am addressing, they do not misunderstand me. But when other people read it outside, they think there is material for the G.C.M. method, for increasing hatred against me. They are trying to do their worst. It is puerile. Let us fight as politicians must do and not as people working out intrigues against one another.

The Communists want all the police stations to be abolished. Do you know, why? They do not want

these police stations because they desire to have an easy walk-over. I am sorry, I cannot oblige them. The police stations must be there and I am sorry to say that whoever takes my place will not abolish them. It is idle to imagine that this large country can be governed without some policemen. There is a policeman, viz., religion that we believe in and the Communists have no use for the police station of religion. Having done away with Mahatmaji who had great moral influence upon the people, can we run the State without police stations ? On the contrary, there are not enough police stations. Crime is increasing. The greed of the people is increasing. Everybody wants to make money for everything and even children are murdered for the sake of money. We want not less police stations, but more police stations. We do not want to waste money on them. I know if there were less crime we could save money and spend it for useful productive purposes. But the negative is as necessary as the positive sometimes. So it is that police stations are there and will continue to be there. Let us not undermine the loyalty of the policemen by saying, 'Your salaries can be increased if you join the Communist Party.' Let us wish for more loyalty rather than less loyalty from the policemen. Then only could we reduce the expenditure and not by tirades against me that I am running a Police Raj.

The intellectual instability of the educated classes is used and exploited and that is what gives Communism its strength. This intellectual instability arises

from exclusive occupation with brains to the total exclusion of useful creative physical work. Mere games and movements of the body for relaxation or pleasure are not enough to give intellectual stability to our boys and girls. But given some time to actual useful work for a part of the day, their intellect would not be unstable and they would not be easy prey to anyone who will misguide.(2)

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PROHIBITION

The communists dare not tell the people that they do not want Prohibition. They would like to put it on the lower ground that it does not work well. There are some of them who do not want Prohibition at all.

Prohibition is the basic cause that contributed to the success of so many Communist Members here and so many others. Men were free to judge, they were independent, they were not intimidated by landlords and the tyrants in the village. They were free agents. Now you want to remove Prohibition and let them drink toddy and arrack and lose their freedom. I am not interested in politics so much all the time, though I may seem to be a hard-boiled politician. I am really interested in the people of my country.

In history men may fail but men tried. What did Lenin do? The moment the revolution was successful, that very day he came to this conclusion and said, 'I must stop the drink evil.' Thousands of

bottles were broken, barrels after barrels were discharged into the river Neva. Why did he do it? And can I not be allowed to have the same desire, the same judgment and understanding for some little time? The Russian people historically have been known to be great drinkers. They have been attached to alcohol for ages. They were so attached to it that many attempts made by Emperors failed. Lenin too tried hard. He also failed. But remember Lanin prohibited in 1917, not only vodka which corresponds to our arrack but also wine, beer and everything else containing alcohol. He thought, 'Yes, revolution hands over power to the people, the proletariat, but drink is the enemy of wisdom, the enemy of the proletariat.' Here power has been transferred to the people and I do not want drink to be allowed to the people to ruin their understanding and their freedom.

EXPENDITURE ON SPECIAL POLICE

The Communists say, "You have used all the money against us all these years. You did not succeed. What purpose have you achieved? We had only two seats then (in 1946) in the Assembly. Now we have got 70." Now, I claim that this is what I consider success. I claim that I have drawn 70 members of the Communist Party into the the Assembly. That is what Rs. 2 crores did. They were underground or in hiding somewhere and this Rs. 2

crores made them come into the Assembly. I say, that this Rs. 2 crores was well spent, even if it had produced nothing but the present attachment of the Communist Party to Parliamentary methods. I hope it will grow. I pray it will grow. I accept all the statements made on the other side that they will never go back to their old ways, that they were never guilty and were always peaceful, and not only peaceful as between Russia and America but peaceful inside India, which is far more important to me. I want them to stick to their words. I hold them to their promise. I say, Rs. 2 crores was well-spent. I will reduce the Armed Police if only they will give me the promise by continually denying the charge I am making. If only to get that denial, I will cotinue to make the charge so that it will be fresh in their mind......I am not a hard man. I am not a man of war. I am a man of peace. I want peace. I yearn for peace. I do not like a debate with guns, daggers and spears.

GIDDY WITH SUCCESS

I am sorry to notice that the Communists show some little signs of intoxication over their victory in the elections........Elections are not judicial courts. It is wrong to imagine because they succeeded in elections, their crimes have been disproved or guilt wiped out. I say that elections are only elections. Decisions of courts cannot be reversed by any number of election results. (3)

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DANGERS OF OVER-CENTRALISATION

I was amazed and, to some extent, frightend by the demands for distribution of electricity. I know the character of our people. I know the character of our country and I wish to utter on this occasion a slight warning. It is a dangerous thing to depend so much as people seem to be inclined to on electricity, giving up the old bullock.

I dont mean any offence to my Communist Friends, who are leaders of labour, if I point out to them the danger of over-centralising our resources in any respect. If all our agriculturists have to depend on the electric wire and the electric power generator, how easy it would be to dislocate the whole thing on any occasion and bring all of us into trouble! I do not want to make things plainer because, I know, by doing so, I shall only encourage such things to some extent. (4)

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The Communists are opposing any form of taxation by the present Government. The Communists wanted the constables' batta to be raised, their salaries to be raised and their allowances to be raised. I agree that there is distinction between the poor and the rich; I agree that there is distinction between the small and the big. And I agree that the Communists are after the small. I know that that is their hunting ground. But we shall not allow that hunt to succeed. (5)

* * * *

COMMUNIST JUSTICE

My Communist friends want a complete alteration of the entire system of present administration. It is their creed and conviction, if I may say so. It is not perhaps their creed, but it is their conviction. They feel that all this is wrong and that even the judicial system is wrong. They feel that people must assemble together, there must be a people's court, a decision must be arrived at there, and if all the crowd shout, 'Yes; they are guilty,' all the accused persons—may be a hundred—must be executed and finished. That is the people's court which prevails in some countries, and we do not hear about the results. The Communists want a complete alteration of the judicial system also.

Here too, my Communist friends think that everything should be changed. I agree. They want a workers' council in every office. If a clerk is to be promoted from lower division to upper division, the upper division clerks or perhaps the lower division clerks should sit and decide as to who should be promoted. This is one system of working. This is a kind of popular control from top to bottom. This would work very well if an iron-minded and iron-charactered party governed everything with an iron hand. But if there is no iron handed party, it would be chaos and nothing else. (6)

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PROPERTY AN ILLUSION

The Communists say that they are not going to wind up their agitation (against the Tanjore Tenants' Protection Bill). Not that I ever believed that the Communist Party will wind up its agitation; it is an international organization with a long life and with a history behind it of a series of events and programmes and it could not be wound up by the Tanjore Teants' Protection Bill.

I know their philosophy fairly well. They do not believe in the magic of property to which the old economists were wedded. Their doctrine is that property is not necessary, it is not essential and it is an illusion. They depend upon public intrest, upon patriotism, upon general economic laws and the class struggle. They do not depend upon the magic of property.

WELFARE STATE

All things grow gradually. It is well known that we stand for a Welfare State. Collective bargaining has lost force as a slogan. It cannot have the force now as it had before. It may remain to supplement our efforts. I hope the Communists when they work among the agrarian population will remember that a Welfare State is postponed to the extent that peace is disturbed. Welfare State and peace must go together. Otherwise we cannot produce a Welfare State.

WORK IS WORSHIP

Communists know that they have not a leg to stand on unless they yoke their doctrines, unless they yoke their policies to hard work, and lay down that every man should work according to capacity and fully. The doctrine of work is no less important to the Communist way of thinking than it is to the Bhagavat Gita way of thinking.

Work is an essential duty and an essential condition for success according to the Communist organization. Now can we by slowing down and strikes, by encouraging a habit of not working or working less or ill, by asking the people not to work—can we produce an ideal condition of things? I would like to give here a thought to the Communists to work on. By doing something opposite to what they ultimately want they are postponing the goal to which they are moving. We must at every stage tell the people to work, we must at every stage emphasize the sacredness and the duty of working. Without disturbing that mentality they may do anything else according to their doctrines. Let them agitate; I have no objection. But I do not want them to tell anybody not to work, or tell anybody to stop work or slow down work. Work is essential. (7)

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THE OLD HABIT

Member after Member, from the Communist Party has risen to oppose (the Madras Motor Vehicles, Bill, 1952) in terms which made me almost imagine that they were not members of the Communist Party at all.

I was surprised to see the old enemies of vested interests and of all unearned incomes opposing this measure. The Communist Party will never get out of their underground habit; even though they are allowed to function in the open, even though they are allowed every privilege of a citizen, to act in the open and oppose the Government or carry on political propaganda, they seem to prefer to infiltrate, they seem to shut their eyes and burrow under the ground and go to the young men in the colleges and to the students in the high-schools—they want to start student federations and operate hunger marches of weavers. They bring together all sorts of people under various covers—it is all the old habit.

I request the Communists to drop this habit and function in the open and never go about with a mask over their face and operate in this manner. Now they are operating in favour of the oppressed bus operators and we are told, the Government is an enemy of the bus operators, the Communist Party is a friend of the bus operators! This the slogan now.

I want the Communists now that they have come into open, to drop this sabotage, to drop these underground tactics. Let them go to the students and say,

'We are Communists, you must join us.' But let them not say, 'Join the Students' Federation.' Let them not go and tell innocent people, 'This is a peace movement, you shall join us.' Peace movement! Why should they say that it is a peace movement? They should say it is the 'Communist Party.' Why not say that it is the Communist Party peace movement? Why try to entrap people? Why try to hide facts? (8)

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PRODUCTION AND FREEDOM

Even members who swear by Communism and by a planned economy believe that we must give an interest in the land and the produce to the farmer, if we expect the farmer to produce more. And that is why I firmly believe that if we wish really to increase production of food in our country, we must allow the producer of the food a free market for what he produces and what he achieves by way of production. If we strangle him by restrictions and regulations which he cannot bear, if we make him walk about, like a prisoner or a thief, carrying his own produce in order to sell it surreptitiously he cannot have an interest to produce food. Therefore, I think if we want to succeed in our policy of growing more food in our country, we must enable the farmer more and more, within limits of course, to feel that he is free, that what he produces is his own and that he can make the best of it. The more the restrictions we put the less

will be his interest in production. The less the restrictions we put, the more will he be enthusiastic in doing work and producing more.

If you want people to produce food we must give an interest in production to the people who produced. If you want people to buy and sell properly we should give interest in the trade to the people who did business. We cannot run the world and ask people to behave well merely by order. That is the mistake that they commit and the pople in Russia found the mistake and are retracing the steps.

PROGRESS OR LIQUIDATION

The Communists say that I sailed with them in 1942-46......The Communists were believed to help the Government at that time. What I wanted then was not either Russia or the other. What I wanted was that we should not hand over the country, our country, to Japan. Therefore, I was one with the Communists at that time...The Communist Party was then led by Mr. P. C. Joshi. I am only sorry he is not the leader of the party now. He was very helpful and very friendly to me. He was with me rather than I was with him or the Communists.

There was no necessity for me to go out for assistance from other parties. I was always in a perfectly safe position because I stood by what I felt was right. I had no fear about it. I had no shame about it. There was nothing wrong in my telling people

what I believed to be right.

It was not as if once I admired the Communists. As for admiration of the Communists, even now I admire the Soviet Govenment. There is no doubt about it. But I make a distinction between the Indian Communists and the Soviet Government regarding the admiration that I have for the Soviet Government. I appreciated the strength of the Socialist doctrine. But the point now to be remembered is that that strength of the Soviet Government came out of previous liquidation. Its feature was liquidating all enemies to show strength and show solidarity and show progress. But in the process of liquidation, the violence that was necessary, and the crime that was necessary for producing that large effect, we do not want here. We do not want that liquidation. So there is great distinction between my admiration for the Russian war against Germany and the position that we have now to deal with namely, that we desire to progress, that we desire to develop without any process of liquidation of any large group of people. (9)

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GUIDED IN POLICY FROM ABROAD

Communists receive help from abroad in the shape of directions and instructions. How can I tell what the directions and instructions are? The party is an international party. They are guided by the common

policies and they are helping one another, as an international party, as they are bound to. Even when I said that, if you have a correct report, you will see that I also said that that was the common impression and that Russia and China had denied it. You cannot complain about that statement.

...Are you a Communist?...Is it not your policy to receive advice from there?...Do you not receive and take into account advice from the Communist Party in Moscow?...

...I have read Stalin's latest speech. He does make an appeal to you and to all the Communists. And he is a powerful man...

...Stalin is a little more powerful with you than Mr. Nehru and Stalin has made an appeal—an important appeal. It has been published everywhere. Apart from that appeal, there has been all through an intelligent co-operation between the Communist Parties of all countries. I am convinced about it; it is not a question of evidence. Nor do you say 'No' straight, when I ask you. I give you a chance, and again I ask you. Tell me, does the Communist Party not get advice from the Communist Party of Moscow?

...I am glad you say no. But I may tell you it is not wrong, for should not scientists get advice from scientists of other countries?

...I concede you are not bound to accept their advice and that you can adapt, modify or make a departure from, that advice, as you have done in many matters. For instance you have united with the K. M. P.—

all that is local modification. Most people think that you are affected in a substantial manner by the advice given from there and that you are continually in touch with them. You are entitled to say 'No'. Also those states deny having anything to do with you or your party. But there is Stalin's appeal also. Stalin's appeal is very strong. He says Socialism has been betrayed that all other democracies are no democracies and it is only the Communist democracy that will save the people and save democracy.

...There is no use suppressing the truth. I have stated the truth as I feel it. It is better that I tell what I feel, but let us not say things which are not based on truth. (10)

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DANGER FROM WITHIN

The Congress has received a mandate from the country to run the Government and it cannot be said that simply because the communists have gained a few seats here and there they have achieved a wonderful victory. 70 Lakhs of voters have voted for the Congress while only 20 lakhs have voted for the Communists. (11)

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It is easy to fight an outside enemy; but very difficult to fight one inside. Many people amongst us are trying to make the Government almost impossible. I do not deny that they are sincere; they believe in what they say; but what they say is not right,

is not good and is dangerous to the country. It is easy to go round and collect grievances and to ask the Government to remedy them. I do not admire the young people who go round and collect grievances. (12)

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IN MALABAR

I am glad the temporary attraction that in recent times Communism seemd to exercise on the youth of Malabar has proved to be only an attraction of adventure and not of reasoned choice. The disillusionment has come—Communism has lost its glamour all over India wherever it had found some footing. In Malabar there were conditions that favoured a free and adventurous spirit among young men relatively more than in other areas.

The family and the property system prevailing among the intelligent and significant sections of the population left young men comparatively free for adventure. The social order there tended to release a great quantum of youthful energy. There was a simplicity of life there that helped sacrifice and adventure and which has survived the onslaughts of urban changes in other parts of India. All these causes explain the temporary progress made by new ideas in this area. But truth must finally triumph against temporary illusions and it has largely triumphed all over the country and in Malabar also.

WHY MASKS?

One could understand Communism hiding itself in the old days behind non-political names and institutions when repressive laws were being operated against it. It had justifications then to go unerground and to wear masks. But now when there is no ban, and when Communists could sit in Parliament and State Legistures and shout their doctrines and programmes and publicly organise their work why do the Communists still delight in "peace movements," "student federations," and "cultural congresses," and such other numerous masks? They seem ever to seek devious ways for catching fish and not the straight forward way of discussion and persuasion on the main issue. This must lead to the conclusion that there is something wrong in their ideology. Otherwise why are they shy of daylight ?

COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE DECLINE

Be it as it may, I am glad to tell you that the Communist Party in India is not very happy now. They are, it may be said, in the doldrums. Many of them doubt whether it was wise to win in the elections and take part in open parliamentary work. They feel they were better off underground. They feel parliamentary activties have resulted in jealousy, ambition, supine satisfaction and rifts. They are, therefore, desperately looking out again for something that may confuse the

issue. So they look out for some unauthorised procession and a lathi-charge, some unnecessary strike and marches of unemployed workmen or sit-down demonstrations. These may make their men forget their doubts and differences and also confuse the public mind. Desperate remedies disclose the existence of a desperate disease. Communism has passed the peak of its success in India and it is now on the decline—a precipitous decline.

The Communists do not believe in prayers or in any spiritual governance of the universe. Yet they have hoped the rains would fail and my de-control of food would bring about distress which they could exploit. But all these wicked prayers were not heard. The people live happily—thank God—and will not believe they are dying just because they read reports of starvation deaths in Communist papers. Facts are harder than doctrines of political economy which have changed so often.

The bogey of Communism might now be put aside. But this does not mean our work is done. We have to make ourselves trustees of the affairs of the people and we should, in the discharge of that trust, remember God, forget selfishness, and do our duties wisely and without haste, with patience, imagination and understanding. (13)

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As early as 1940, when the Communists were in the Congress, I advised them not to pick up quarrels before we actually won freedom but work with the others in the Congress for the achievement of freedom. They did not accept my advice. Now that we are free,

they act in a certain manner.

I do not complain about the 'patriotism' of the Communists. My only complaint against them is that their brains do not function in the proper manner. I wish to tell the Communists clearly that they cannot achieve what they want by revolution in this country. Only by love and mutual trust can they achieve major changes. The Communists can never rule the country as the power would never pass into their hands. It would only prove to be a day-dream if they imagined that they could rule this state by themselves when the Union Government is in the hands of the Congress.

I am clear and confident that the Communists would have no opportunity to administer the country. I appeal to our people to realise who is their (the people's) true friend. I want you all to stand by the Congress. (14)

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MY DOUBTS ABOUT REDS

The culture of our country is some thing more than any politics derived from any country. I hope and trust that our 'Samskaram' will last long, as long as the Himalayas and the Ganges. Nothing that any one will do will shake that 'Samskaram'. If only the Communists will give me that solemn promise that they will maintain the culture of our country, I for my part, will be quite willing to hand over the Government of this country to them. But the question is, whe-

ther I will trust the promise. We trust a man, we trust a people and we trust India on some basis. If they value things that we value, if they value the moral values that we give to things, if they give the things also, then we can all trust them. It is because that I have doubts on this subject that I have doubts as to whether we can hand over the Government to them. If, for instance, a man gives a promise, he must respect it. If a man tells me something, I must believe that he is speaking the truth.

Why do we trust one another? It is because we believe that all of us have fear of God, love of God. Now, the Communists have always expressed contempt for reference about God or talk about God. Whatever our religion may be, God is one. Communists seem to have accepted a new religion according to which their party is God, and that God has disappeared. That is the danger and that is why my poor friends the Communists, have a bad reputation throughout the world. I have often told my Communist friends, individually and collectively, that, if only they had not dropped God, they would have been powerful in the world today. They attributed to God the defects that they saw among men and they thought that, if they dropped God, the defects would be cured. They thought that men would improve. This is the fundamental mistake and that is why they are in trouble now in the world. If only they had not given up religion and God and had preached and practised all that they stood for, the world today would not have been divided into two. Unfortu-

nately, in all their activities they have attempted to ignore the moral and spiritual foundations. Hence A does not believe B, B does not believe C, C does not believe D and so on.

The mistake that they committed was that they believed that all that we saw in the world had been imposed on gullible and stupid people by bad people. They did not realise that the institutions they saw in the world had grown by natural laws.

VOTE FOR THE CONGRESS

I am telling you all these because some of you have voted for the Communists in the last general elections. It might be that most of you, my readers, might not have voted for the Communists. When voting time comes do not remain in your houses thinking that other people would do your duty. Everyone of you must go to the polling booth and remember what I tell you: send proper material to the Assembly.

Last time was the first time you went to elections after getting freedom. You have not sufficiently realised the responsibilities. You should not treat the affair as a cricket match or horse race.

Hereafter the question is whether you will eat rice or poison. Every polling booth is a place where you have to choose between right and wrong. It is not a place where we can act according to our personal prejudices. The polling booth is a place where you make Government. It is in the polling booths that Govern-

ment is made as the goldsmith makes a jewel. If a goldsmith mixes a little brass instead of gold, what will happen to the gold ?

If, in the next elections, you return Congressmen and turn the table on our Communist friends, it will be a lasting lesson to them. I hope you will do it. (15)

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APPEAL TO ANDHRAS

I do hope that Beria and Malenkov will serve as a warning to those to whom the Communists appeal for their votes saying that they will respect the Constitution. I am sorry that I am not physically fit for participation in election work in Andhra, but my participation is unnecessary. Beria and Malenkov have done it, I believe.

In democratic election we vote for parties and not for individuals. The selection of candidates is the responsibility of parties. Ultimately it is the party that makes the Governments. The Communists' history and policies in India and in other contries are well known. The Communist Party in India cannot disclaim its foreign affiliations although it denies financial support from abroad. The Communist Party opposes the old historic party of India, the Indian National Congress. It would be most unwise for the voters to entrust the administration to the Communist Party.

What does the Communist Party want? Is it merely the substitution of Mr. X. and Mr. Y. for Mr. A. and Mr. B? This cannot be. It wants the policies hitherto followed to be substituted by Communist Party policies. What are they likely to be? Should we use our intelligence and not be guided by the mere work of this party. If the Communist Party governs the country and they are true to their ideology, they were bound to reintroduce controls. They are bound to pamper the industrial workers at the expense of all others and finally at the cost of the welfare of the workers themselves. They are bound to make peasants work and make them produce not for themselves, but for being distributed by the State according to the Party's ideas of justice and public advantage. They are bound to produce a Government in which, as in Russia, everyone will have to be at the beck and call of the Communist Party bosses and even under-bosses.

Some may say that in these respects common things are pretty bad under even Congress rule. But, I say, it will be very much worse under a Communist regime. The voters of Andhra will think a hundred times before putting a single ballot paper in the Communist boxes. May God bless you. (16)

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10. From Press Conference at Tirupathi on 23-10-52.
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12. ,, the speech at Cuddapah on 15-6-52.
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14. ,, the speech at Porayar on 30-6-53.
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సంస్కృతి ప్రచురణలు

10. సోవియట్లు దేశం (శశి) ... ... రూ. 0-10-0
11. నేటిచైనా (పింగళి పరశురామయ్య) ... రూ. 0-10-0
16. మహమ్మదీయరాజ్యాలలో జాతీయవికాసం (కాళీపట్నం కొండయ్య) ... ... రూ. 1- 8-0
39. వసంతము (బద్దెపూడి రాధాకృష్ణమూర్తి)... రూ. 1- 0-0
40. నా చిన్నప్పుడు (గాంధీజీ) ... ... రూ. 1- 0-0
41. వీరస్వర్గము (ప్రతాప రామకోటయ్య) ... రూ. 0- 8-0
42. ప్రపంచ చరిత్ర (ఐ. భా.) (నెహ్రూ) ... రూ. 5- 0-0
44. తెనుగు-ఇంగ్లీషు నిఘంటువు (విలియం బ్రౌన్) రూ. 5- 0-0
45. ప్రపంచ చరిత్ర (ఆ. భా.) (నెహ్రూ) ... రూ. 2- 0-0
46. టెన్ సింగ్ నార్క్యా (చింతలపూడి శేషగిరి రావు) రూ. 0-15-0
47. భారత కథలు (దువ్వూరి లక్ష్మీభాస్కరుడు) రూ. 0-15-0
48. మన వారసత్వము (కాటూరి వెంకటేశ్వరరావు) రూ. 1- 8-0
49. ఇందిరాదేవి (బలుసు వేంకటరమణయ్య) రూ. 0-15-0
50. కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీ: ప్రచారం-పరమార్ధం (మధు లిమాయె) 1- 8-0
51. కమ్యూనిస్టుల ప్రజాసేవ (శశి-కాంత్) ... రూ. 0- 4-0
52. కమ్యూనిస్టులకు జవాబు (శశి-కాంత్) ... రూ. 0- 4-0
53. ప్రగతి (ఆంధ్ర ప్రభ నుంచి) ... రూ. 0- 4-0
54. భారత కమ్యూనిస్టులు (రాజాజీ) ... రూ. 0- 4-0

పిల్లల పుస్తకాలు

1. లక్కపిడతలు (చింతా దీక్షితులు) 1-0-0
2. శంపాలత ,, ... 0-8-0

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కల్చరల్ బుక్స్ లిమిటెడ్
31, మీరాన్ సాహెబ్ వీధి,
మౌంట్ రోడ్డు :: మద్రాసు—2